

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 DAR ES 00087 082005Z

43

ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 0087

EXDIS

DEPT REPEAT OTHER OAU POSTS AS DESIRED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AO, OAU, TZ

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S VIEWS ON ANGOLA ON UPCOMING OAU MEETING

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT NYERERE TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT HE IS STUDYING PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER CAREFULLY AND WILL ANSWER IT AFTER OAU SUMMIT. OF PARTIES INVOLVED IN ANGOLAN SITUATION, HE SAID, HE CONSIDERED U.S. ONE OF THOSE RECEPTIVE TO FACT AND LOGIC. HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY EVERYONE IN WORLD WAS GETTING SO UPSET ABOUT ANGOLA, BUT THEY CLEARLY WERE, AND THIS IS FRIGHTENING HIM. HE INTENDS SUGGEST AT OAU MEETING THAT MPLA "TRY TO TALK TO AMERICANS" AND LEARN THEIR CONCERNS. HE AGREED THAT MORE FOCUS WAS NEEDED ON JUST HOW AND WHEN THER SOVIETS AND CUBANS WOULD BE GOTTEN OUT OF ANGOLA.

2. PRESIDENT NYERERE KEPT ME SUBSTANTIALLY BEYOND NORMAL PROTOCOL PERIOD FOR TETE-A-TETE AT PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS CEREMONY MORNING 8 JANUARY. AFTER HANDING OVER MY LETTERS, I SAID THAT AS POLITICAL SCIENTIST AND FORMER TEACHER I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO HIM ABOUT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORDER IN TANZANIA. HOWEVER, AS DIPLOMAT, I FELT THAT I MUST AT THIS TIME GIVE PRIORITY TO ASKING HIM ABOUT ANGOLAN SITUATION. HIGHLIGHTS DISCUSSION FOLLOW. (JUNIOR FOREIGN MINISTER SEPETU WAS ALSO PRESENT; HE SMILED ONCE AND SPOKE NOT AT ALL DURING EXCHANGE.)

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 DAR ES 00087 082005Z

3. NYERERE SAID THAT HE IS STUDYING CAREFULLY PRESIDENT FORD'S

LETTER AND WILL BE REPLYING TO IT AFTER OAU MEETING BECAUSE THERE WAS NOT TIME TO DO SO PROPERLY NOW AND BECAUSE EVENTS AT OAU MEETING MIGHT MAKE POSSIBLE MORE USEFUL RESPONSE. NO REFERENCE WAS MADE TO THE VITUPERATIVE NIGERIAN RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT FORD'S LETTER, ALTHOUGH THIS WAS GIVEN FULL BLOWN NEWS (BUT NOT EDITORIAL) TREATMENT IN TANGOV DAILY NEWS THIS MORNING.

4. NYERERE SAID THAT HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY EVERYONE IN THE WORLD IS GETTING SO UPSET OVER ANGOLA. HE HAD BEEN LISTENING, AS USUAL, TO VOA AND BBC THIS MORNING. ONE COMMENTARY LISTED THINGS U.S. COULD DO IN PRESENT SITUATION. ONE OF THESE WAS "TO ARM CHINA TO ENABLE IT TO DRIVE SOVIETS OUT OF ANGOLA." NYERERE HELD UP HIS HANDS IN AMUSED DISMAY. I SAID I WAS DELIGHTED TO KNOW HE LISTENED REGULARLY TO VOA. I WAS INTERESTED IN WHICH RADIO HE HAD HEARD THIS COMMENTARY ON. HE SAID IT WAS BBC; I SAID I WAS GLAD OF THAT; WE ALL LAUGHED.

5. RETURNING TO HIS THEME, NYERERE SAID SITUATIONS LIKE PRESENT ONE IN ANGOLA HAD ARISEN BEFORE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WITH BOTH GREAT POWER RIVALRY AND INTERNAL DISSENSION AS MAJOR ELEMENTS IN THEM. USUAL OUTCOME WAS THAT PROBLEM DRIBBLED AWAY WITHOUT CONCLUSION SATISFACTORY TO ANY OF THE CONTENDING PARTIES. POINT NOW IN ANGOLA WAS TO GET "EVERYONE" TO BACK OFF AND HELP ANGOLANS TO STOP KILLING EACH OTHER AND DESTROYING THEIR COUNTRY'S ASSETS. OF MANY PARTIES INVOLVED IN ANGOLAN SITUATION, HE CONSIDERED U.S. ONE OF THOSE WHICH IS RECEPTIVE IN SOME DEGREE TO FACT AND LOGIC.

6. NYERERE MADE NO REFERENCE TO NEED FOR SOUTH AFRICANS TO LEAVE ANGOLA AS REQUIRED FIRST ITEM OF BUSINESS. HE DID SHOW INTEREST IN PASSING REMARK OF MINE THAT FROM WHAT I READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS A SOUTH AFRICAN PULLOUT WAS PROBABLY INEVITABLE. I SAID THAT WHETHER OR NOT VERY DEEP CONCERN ABOUT SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE WAS EXAGGERATED, THERE WAS NO POINT IN JUST TELLING WEST OR CONCERNED AFRICANS THAT COMMUNIST PRESENCE SIMPLY WASN'T DANGEROUS. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS MORE FOCUS ON JUST HOW AND WHEN THE SOVIETS AND THE CUBANS WOULD BE GOTTEN OUT: "A-, B-, C-, D-". HE AGREED WITH SOMEWHAT MORE THAN NORMAL EMPHASIS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 DAR ES 00087 082005Z

7. AS FOR OAU SUMMIT, NYERERE VOLUNTEERED ONLY FOLLOWING. WITH CLASSIC IMPIISH TWINKLE IN HIS EYE, HE SAID HE WAS GOING TO SAY TO MPLA: "YOU ARE TALKING TO THE RUSSIANS; THE RUSSIANS ARE TALKING TO YOU; THE AMERICANS ARE TALKING TO THE RUSSIANS; THE RUSSIANS ARE TALKING TO THE AMERICANS. BUT YOU ARE NOT TALKING TO THE AMERICANS. AREN'T YOU A LITTLE WORRIED?" HE IMPLIED THAT HE INTENDED WORKING AT OAU MEETING FOR AFRICAN

CONSENSUS ADVISING MPLA TO GET IN PROMPT DIRECT COMMUNICATION WITH USG TO FIND OUT ABOUT U.S. CONCERNS AND SEE IF IT COULD IN SOME REASONABLE MEASURE SATISFY THEM. IN WHAT I ASSUME WAS PRO FORMA MODEST DISCLAIMER, HE STATED HE HAD NO WAY OF TELLING IF HE WOULD HAVE ANY INFLUENCE WITH HIS FELLOW AFRICANS ON THIS SUBJECT AT ADDIS.

8. COMMENT: NYERERE COULD NOT BE UNAWARE OF NIGERIAN BLAST AND MAY HAVE BEEN DELIBERATELY REACTING TO IT IN PLAYING TO THE HILT HIS PREFERRED ROLE AS SENIOR, MODERATE AFRICAN STATESMAN, IN SHARP CONTRAST TO CRUDE SOLDIERS WHO ARE IN CHARGE ELSEWHERE ON THE CONTINENT. OUR PAST EXPERIENCE WITH TANZANIA GIVES ME NO CONFIDENCE THAT THIS IMAGE MAY NOT BE COUNTERED ANY TIME BY ONE OF HIS MINISTERS OR NEWSPAPERS SETTING OUT (WITH HIS CONSENT) TO GRAB THE POINT IN THE HOWLING AFRICAN PACK. HOWEVER, FOR MOMENT AT LEAST, WE MAY HAVE SCORED ON THE NEED FOR AFRICANS TO WORK MORE ACTIVELY AND SPECIFICALLY ON REMOVAL OF SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCE. THE DOOR REMAINS OPEN FOR FUTURE RATIONAL DIALOGUE. IT IS OPEN ALSO, I THINK, SHOULD THE DEPT DEEM IT ADVISABLE, FOR WORD TO BE PASSED TO NYERERE AT ADDIS OR ELSEWHERE THAT AMBASSADOR HUMMEL OR SOMEONE ELSE WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO HEAR FROM THE MPLA.
SPAIN

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED OTHER OAU POSTS.

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NNN

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